

# Exhibit 1

## CURRICULUM VITAE: PEYTON McCRARY

Professorial Lecturer, George Washington University Law School, 2006 -

[pmccrary@law.gwu.edu](mailto:pmccrary@law.gwu.edu)

Historian, U.S. Department of Justice, 1990-2016 (retired)  
Civil Rights Division, Voting Section  
1800 G Street, N.W, Room 7267  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Principal Functions in the Department of Justice: Research for voting rights litigation; identifying consultants and expert witnesses to be used in cases; working with attorneys and experts to prepare for direct testimony and cross-examination; supervising the preparation of contracts and processing the reimbursement of consultants and expert witnesses; drafting presentation of factual evidence in memoranda, briefs, and proposed findings of fact; legislative history research.

EDUCATION: University of Virginia: B.A. (Honors), 1965  
M.A., History, 1966

Princeton University: Ph.D., History, 1972

TEACHING FIELDS: Voting Rights Law; Minority Voting Rights; U.S. History; History of the South; Southern Politics; Civil War and Reconstruction; American Political Parties and Voting Behavior; Theory and Methods of Historical Analysis

### CAREER RECOGNITION:

Maceo Hubbard Award, U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, 2011

### PAST ACADEMIC AND RESEARCH APPOINTMENTS:

Eugene Lang Professor [Visiting], Department of Political Science, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1998-1999.

Distinguished Scholar, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Washington, D.C., 1987-1988.

Associate Professor of History, 1978-82, Professor of History, 1982-90, University of South Alabama, Mobile, Alabama.

Assistant Professor of History, 1976-1978, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee

Instructor, Assistant Professor of History, 1969-1976, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota

### BOOK:

*Abraham Lincoln and Reconstruction: The Louisiana Experiment* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1978), 423 pages. Winner, Kemper Williams Prize, Louisiana Historical Association, 1979.

### BOOK CHAPTERS:

"Minority Representation in Alabama: The Pivotal Case of *Dillard v. Crenshaw County*," in Raymond Arsenault and Orville Vernon Burton (eds.), *Dixie Redux: Essays in Honor of Sheldon Hackney* (Montgomery, Al., New South Books, 2013), 403-22.

"The Constitutional Foundations of the 'Preclearance' Process: How Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act Was Enforced, 1965-2005," in Daniel McCool (ed.), *The Most Fundamental Right: Contrasting Perspectives on the Voting Rights Act* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2012), 36-66.

"Race and Municipal Reform in the Progressive Era: The Adoption of At-large Elections in Norfolk, Virginia, 1914-1918," in Orville Vernon Burton, et.al. (eds.), *The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction* (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 2011), 238-53.

"The Law of Preclearance: Enforcing Section 5," co-authored with Christopher Seaman and Richard Valelly, in David Epstein, et.al. (eds.), *The Future of the Voting Rights Act* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 2006), 20-37.

"Alabama," co-authored with Jerome A. Gray, Edward Still, and Huey Perry, and "South Carolina," co-authored with Orville Vernon Burton, Terence R. Finnegan, and James W. Loewen, in Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman (eds.), *Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1994), 38-66, 397-409. Winner, Richard Fenno Prize, American Political Science Association.

"History in the Courts: The Significance of *City of Mobile v. Bolden*," in Chandler Davidson (ed.), *Minority Vote Dilution* (Washington, D.C., Howard University Press, 1984), 47-65.

#### LAW REVIEW ARTICLES:

"How the Voting Rights Act Works: Implementation of a Civil Rights Policy, 1965-2005," *South Carolina Law Review*, 57 (Summer 2006), 785-825.

"The End of Preclearance as We Knew It: How the Supreme Court Transformed Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act," co-authored with Christopher Seaman and Richard Valelly, *Michigan Journal of Race & Law*, 11 (Spring 2006), 275-323. [An unpublished version was printed in *Voting Rights Act: Section 5 Preclearance and Standards: Hearings Before the Subcomm. On the Constitution, H. Comm. On the Judiciary, 109<sup>th</sup> Cong., 96-181 (2005) (Serial No. 109-69).*]

"Bringing Equality to Power: How the Federal Courts Transformed the Electoral Structure of Southern Politics, 1960-1990," *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law*, 5 (May 2003), 665-708.

"Yes, But What Have They Done to Black People Lately? The Role of Historical Evidence in the Virginia School Board Case," *Chicago-Kent Law Review*, 70 (No. 3, 1994), 1275-1305.

"Keeping the Courts Honest: The Role of Historians as Expert Witnesses in Southern Voting Rights Cases," co-authored with J. Gerald Hebert, *Southern University Law Review*, 16 (Spring 1989), 101-28.

"Discriminatory Intent: The Continuing Relevance of 'Purpose' Evidence in Vote-Dilution Lawsuits," *Howard Law Journal*, 28 (No. 2, 1985), 463-93.

#### JOURNAL ARTICLES:

"The Interaction of Policy and Law: How the Courts Came to Treat Annexations under the Voting Rights Act," *Journal of Policy History*, 26 (No. 4, 2014), 429-58.

"The Struggle for Minority Representation in Florida, 1960-1990," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 86 (Summer 2007), 93-111. Jillian Prescott Memorial Lecture, Florida Historical Society, 2006.

"Race and Reapportionment, 1962: The Case of Georgia Senate Redistricting," co-authored with Steven F. Lawson, *Journal of Policy History*, 12 (No.3, 2000), 293-320.

"The Dynamics of Minority Vote Dilution: The Case of Augusta, Georgia, 1946-1986," *Journal of Urban History*, 25 (Jan. 1999), 199-225.

"Racially Polarized Voting in the South: Quantitative Evidence from the Courtroom," *Social Science History*, 14 (Winter 1990), 507-31.

"The Party of Revolution: Republican Ideas About Politics and Social Change, 1862-1867," *Civil War History*, 30 (December 1984), 330-50.

"Class and Party in the Secession Crisis: Voting Behavior in the Deep South, 1856-1861," co-authored with Clark Miller and Dale Baum, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, VIII (Winter 1978), 429-57.

#### REVIEW ESSAYS:

"Race and Misrepresentation: Review of Maurice T. Cunningham, *Maximization, Whatever the Cost: Race, Redistricting, and the Department of Justice*," H-Net, Feb. 2002. [www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=214111015008351](http://www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=214111015008351).

"Review of David Lublin, *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interest in Congress*," H-Net, May 1998. [www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=23313895266679](http://www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=23313895266679).

"Without Fear and Without Research: Abigail Thernstrom on the Voting Rights Act," co-authored with Pamela S. Karlan, *Journal of Law and Politics*, IV (Spring 1988), 751-77.

"The Political Dynamics of Black Reconstruction," *Reviews in American History*, 12 (March 1984), 51-57.

#### ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLE:

"The Reconstruction Myth," in Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1120-21 [reprinted in Jonathan Birnbaum and Clarence Taylor (eds.), *Civil Rights Since 1787: A Reader on the Black Struggle* (New York, New York University Press, 2000), 150-53.]

BOOK REVIEWS: *American Historical Review*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *Journal of Southern History*, *Social Science History*, *American Review of Politics*.

#### COURTROOM TESTIMONY AS AN EXPERT WITNESS:

(Plaintiffs), *Alabama NAACP v. Alabama*, M.D. Ala. (Montgomery), November 2018. [Challenge to the statewide election of appellate judges in Alabama]

(United States as Amicus Curiae), *SCLC v. Evans*, M.D. Ala. (Montgomery), December 1991. [Challenge to the method of electing certain circuit judges in Alabama]

(Plaintiffs), *Vereen v. Ben Hill County*, M.D. Ga. (Macon), December 1989. [Challenge to the state law requiring appointment of county school boards by the local grand jury, as applied in more than a dozen counties]

(Plaintiffs), *Hall v. Holder*, M.D. Ga. (Macon), December 1989.  
[Challenge to the sole commissioner form of government in Bleckley County, Georgia]

(Plaintiffs), *Irby v. Fitzhugh*, E.D.Va. (Richmond), June 1988.

[Challenge to the appointment of all school boards in the Commonwealth of Virginia]

(Plaintiffs), *Whitfield v. Clinton*, E.D.Ark. (Helena), March 1988. [Challenge to the use of the statewide majority vote requirement in Phillips County, Arkansas]

(Plaintiffs), *Dent v. Culpepper*, M.D.Ga. (Macon), Preliminary Injunction Hearing, November 1987.

[Challenge to the at-large election of the City Commission in Cordele, Georgia]

(Plaintiffs), *Jackson v. Edgefield County, School District*, D.S.C. (Columbia), April 1986. [Challenge to the at-large election of the Edgefield County School Board]

(Plaintiffs), *Dillard v. Crenshaw County, et.al.*, M.D.Ala. (Montgomery), Preliminary Injunction Hearing, March 1986. [Challenge to the at-large election of public officials in more than 180 Alabama counties, municipalities, and school boards]

(Plaintiffs), *Harris v. Graddick*, M.D.Ala. (Montgomery), February 1985. [Challenge to the procedures by which election officials are selected and elections conducted in Alabama]

(Plaintiffs), *Woods v. Florence*, N.D.Ala. (Birmingham), August 1984. [Challenge to the method of appointing the Jefferson County Personnel Board]

(Plaintiffs), *Collins v. City of Norfolk*, E.D.Va. (Norfolk), May 1984. [Challenge to the at-large election of the Norfolk City Council]

(United States), *County Council of Sumter County, S.C. v. U.S.*, D.D.C., February 1983. [Defense of Section 5 Objection to the at-large election of the Sumter County Council]

(United States), *U.S. v. Dallas County Commission*, S.D.Ala. (Selma), October 1981. [Challenge to the at-large election of the Dallas County Commission]

(Plaintiffs), *Bolden v. City of Mobile*, S.D.Ala. (Mobile), May 1981. [Challenge to the at-large election of the Mobile City Commission]

(Plaintiffs), *Brown v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County*, S.D.Ala. (Mobile), April 1981. [Challenge to the at-large election of the Mobile County School Board]

#### SWORN WRITTEN TESTIMONY AS AN EXPERT WITNESS:

(Plaintiffs) December 22, 2017, and February 12, 2018, *Georgia State Conference NAACP v. State of Georgia*, C.A. No. 1:17-cv-01247 (N.D. Ga.) [Challenge to the re-redistricting of state house districts in 2015]

(Plaintiffs) November 20, 2017, *Alabama State Conference NAACP v. State of Alabama*, C.A. No. 2:16-cv-731, M.D. Ala. [Challenge to the method of electing appellate judges in Alabama]

(Plaintiffs) July 24, 2017, *Thompson v. State of Alabama*, C.A. No. 16-cv-783-WKW, M.D. Ala. [. [Challenge to felon disfranchisement provisions in Alabama]

(United States) June 25, 2012, and July 20, 2012, *State of Florida v. United States*, C.A. No. 1:11-cv-01428, D.D.C. [Defense of the constitutionality of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act]

(United States) August 1, 2011, *Laroque v. Holder*, C.A. No. 1:10-0561, D.D.C. [Defense of the constitutionality of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act]

(United States) November 15, 2010, and February 16, 2011, *Shelby County, Alabama, v. Holder*, C.A. No. 1:10-cv-00651, D.D.C. [Defense of the constitutionality of Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act]

(United States as Defendant-Intervenor) July 31, 1996, *Cook v. Marshall County, Mississippi, and United States*, C.A. No. 3:95 CV 155-D-A, N.D. Miss. [Defense of Marshall County's redistricting plan]

(United States as Defendant-Intervenor) July 19, 1994, *Hays v. State of Louisiana*, C.A. No. 92-1522S, W.D. La. (Shreveport). [Defense of Louisiana's congressional redistricting plan]

(United States) March 25, 1991, *State of Georgia v. Thornburg*, C.A. No. 90-2065, D.D.C. [Defense of Section 5 objection to the method of electing certain superior court judges in Georgia]

(Plaintiffs) January 20, 1988, *Irby v. Fitzhugh*, C.A. No. 87-0633-R, E.D.Va. (Richmond). [Challenge to the appointment of all school boards in the Commonwealth of Virginia]

(United States) June 25, 1984, *U.S. v. Halifax County, N.C.*, C.A. No. 83-88-CIV-8, E.D.N.C. (Wilson). [Challenge to the at-large election of the Halifax County Commission]

(Plaintiffs) April 22, 1983, *Wilson v. Powell*, C.A. No. 383-14, S.D.Ga. (Dublin). [Challenge to the appointment of the Johnson County School Board by the county grand jury]

(United States) September 28, 1982, *County Council of Sumter County, S.C. v. U.S.*, C.A. No. 82-0912, D.D.C. [Defense of Section 5 Objection to the at-large election of the Sumter County Council]

#### CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY:

"Testimony Before the Subcommittee of National Parks and Public Lands, Committee on the Interior, U.S. House of Representatives, June 14, 1988.

"Written Testimony of Dr. Peyton McCrary," in *Extension of the Voting Rights Act: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives*, 97th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial No. 24 (3 vols., Washington, D.C., G.P.O., 1982), III, 2749-76.

#### CONFERENCE PAPERS:

"The Deep South Fights Back: Constitutional Challenges to Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, 1966-1980." Southern Historical Association, November 2012.

"From *Gomillion v. Lightfoot* to *City of Pleasant Grove v. United States*: Annexations, De-annexations, and the Voting Rights Act." Constitution Day Conference, San Francisco State University, September 2010.

"Two Kinds of Vote Dilution: From *Baker v. Carr* to *White v. Regester*." Organization of American Historians, April 2010.

"How the Voting Rights Act Works: Implementation of a Civil Rights Policy, 1965-2005," University of South Carolina School of Law, October 2005; [revised version, Southern Historical Association, November 2005].

"Bringing Equality to Power: Federal Courts and the Transformation of Southern Electoral Politics, 1960-2000." Organization of American Historians, April 2002.

"Why the Voting Rights Act Worked: A Judicial Model of Policy Implementation." Social Science History Association, October 1997; [revised version, Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management, November 1997].

"Yes, But What Have They Done to Black People Lately? The Role of Historical Evidence in the Virginia School Board Case." Southern Historical Association, November 1992.

"The Impact of the Voting Rights Act in Alabama," co-authored with Jerome Gray, Edward Still, and Huey Perry. American Political Science Association, 1989 [revised version presented at a Conference on the Impact of the Voting Rights Act, Rice University, Houston, Texas, May 1990].

"Taking History to Court: The Issue of Discriminatory Intent in Southern Voting Rights Cases." Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Washington, D.C., June 13, 1988.

"Keeping the Courts Honest: Expert Witnesses in Voting Rights and School Desegregation Cases," co-authored with J. Gerald Hebert. Southern Historical Association, November 1986.

"Discriminatory Intent: The Continuing Relevance of 'Purpose' Evidence in Vote-Dilution Lawsuits." Conference on Voting Rights Law, Howard University School of Law, Washington, D.C., January 1985.

"The Subtle Gerrymander: Discriminatory Purposes of At-large Elections in the South, 1865-1982." Organization of American Historians, April 1983.

"The Party of Revolution: Republican Ideas About Politics and Social Change, 1861-1868." Southern Historical Association, November 1980.

"After the Revolution: American Reconstruction in Comparative Perspective." American Historical Association, December 1979.

"The Civil War Party System, 1854-1876: Toward a New Behavioral Synthesis?" Southern Historical Association, November 1976.

#### CHAIRPERSON, PANELIST, OR COMMENTATOR:

Alabama Association of Historians, 1983.  
Alabama Department of Archives and History, 1988.  
American Historical Association, 2017.  
American Political Science Association, 1987, 2003.  
Brookings Institution, 1990.  
National Association of Secretaries of State, 1983.  
Organization of American Historians, 1979, 1995.  
Social Science History Association, 1981, 1987, 1996, 1997, 1999.  
Southern Historical Association, 1973, 1985.  
University of Alabama, 1983.  
University of Utah, 2007.  
United States Commission on Civil Rights, 2018.

#### ACADEMIC REFEREE:

Book-length manuscripts: Princeton University Press, University of North Carolina Press, University of Tennessee Press, University of Alabama Press, Louisiana State University Press, University of Georgia Press.  
Article-length manuscripts: Journal of American History, American Historical Review, Sociological Spectrum, Gulf Coast Historical Review, Social Science History.

CONSULTANT:

Test Design: College Board Achievement Test, American History; Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J., 1979-1983

Archival: Re-organization of Section 5 Objection Files, Civil Rights Division/Voting Section, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., January to July 1989.

Litigation Research: Civil Rights Division/Voting Section, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., August 1989 to August 1990.

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS:

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, 1987-1988: Distinguished Scholar, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Washington, D.C.

American Philosophical Society, 1983: Research Travel Grant.

Rockefeller Foundation, 1982-1983: Research Fellowship.

Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1982-1983: Research Fellowship.

National Endowment for the Humanities, 1980: Summer Research Stipend.

University of South Alabama, 1978-1987: Faculty Research Grants; Research Council Grant.

Vanderbilt University, 1976-1978: Manuscript Preparation Grant.

University of Minnesota, 1969-1976: Faculty Research Grants.

Princeton University, 1966-69: University Fellow; Herbert Osgood Fellow; NDEA Fellow.

University of Virginia, 1961-1966: Echols Scholar; Du Pont Scholar; Ford Foundation Fellow.